

## Routes to tour in Germany

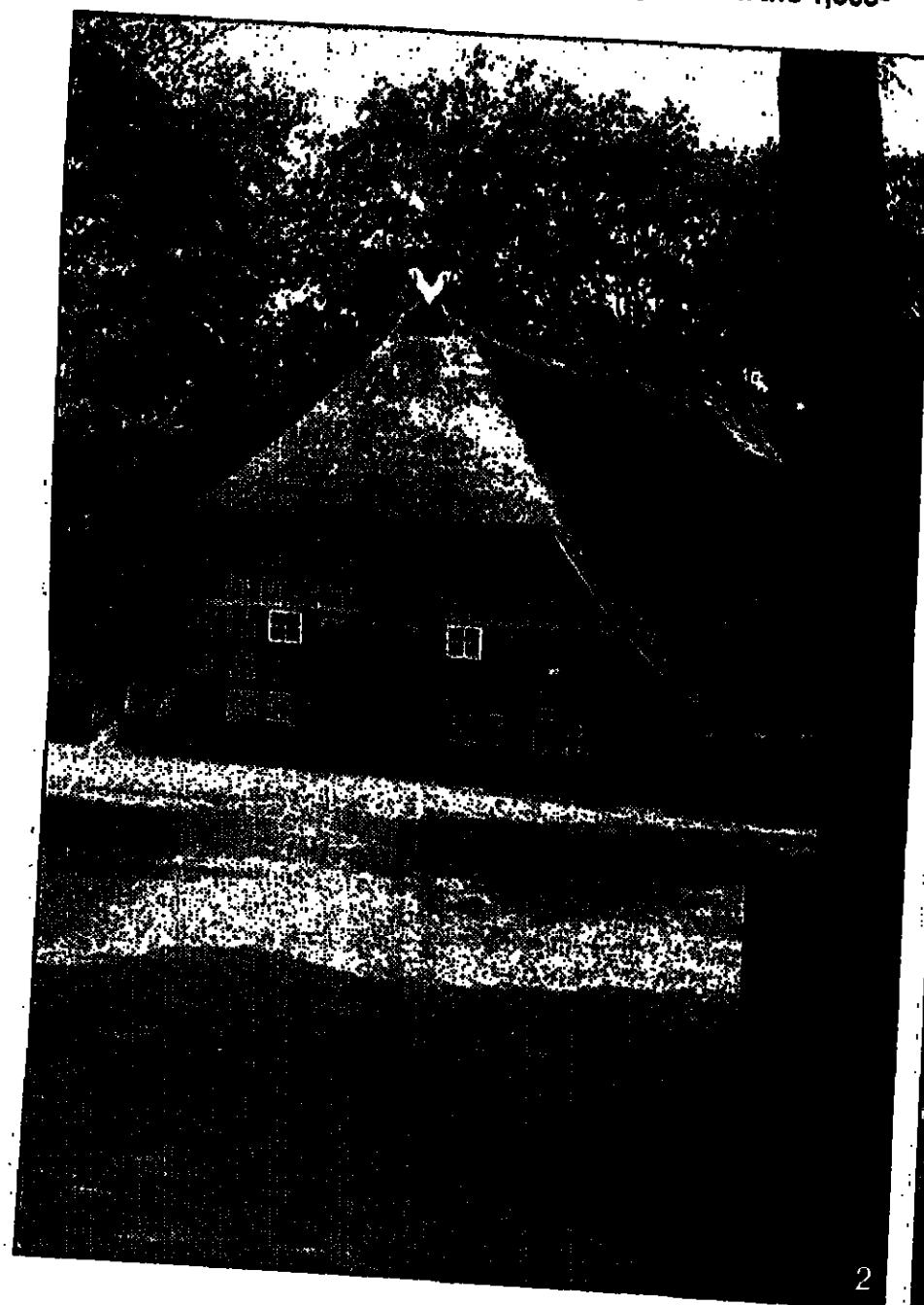
# The Harz and Heath Route



German roads will get you there — to areas at times so attractive that one route leads to the next, from the Harz mountains to the Lüneburg Heath, say. Maybe you should take a look at both. The Harz, northernmost part of the Mittelgebirge range, is holiday country all the year round. In summer for hikers, in winter for skiers in their tens of thousands. Tour from the hill resorts of Osterode, Clausthal-Zellerfeld or Bad Harzburg or from the 1,000-

year-old town of Goslar. The Heath extends from Celle, with its town centre of half-timbered houses unscathed by the war and the oldest theatre in Germany, to Lüneburg, also 1,000 years old. It boasts wide expanses of flat countryside, purple heather and herds of local curly-horned sheep.

Visit Germany and let the Harz and Heath Route be your guide.



- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
- 4 Göttingen

DZT DEUTSCHE ZENTRALE FÜR TOURISMUS  
Beethovenstrasse 69, D-6000 Frankfurt



## EEC struggles to find the right formula



Western European research institutes have submitted a report on the state of the European Community in the alarming title "The EEC faces decision: Progress or Decline."

But the situation is much more complex than these two simple alternatives suggest. European integration has from the outset been a difficult task, beset by

the future of the European Community will doubtless continue to be more a straightforward choice between progress and decline.

There is no reason for glossing over the current state of the Community. The common Agricultural Policy, the only fully integrated European policy, has brought it to the brink of bankruptcy.

The reform of the CAP, which has been postponed for years, now seems to be making headway under the pressure of a shortage of funds that has led the search for compromises no longer.

An increase in funds for the EEC's

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It is budget will be inevitable no matter how hard the Common Market states try to economise.

It is an issue that threatens to become a bogeyman at European summit conferences.

No-one can really believe that the tasks adjourned at the Brussels summit in March for consideration at the June summit in Stuttgart will be settled in time for the next session of the European Council in Athens in December.

The Council of Ministers, which is making decisions are basically reached in the European Community, conflicting mutually exclusive interests prevent agreement on crucial issues. The European spirit is most readily

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apparent these days at the European Parliament, direct elections to which were first held in 1979.

Since Greece joined the Community in 1981 the Strasbourg Parliament has represented about 270 million people in the 10 EEC countries.

The European Parliament, which commutes between Strasbourg, Brussels and Luxembourg, may not have achieved anything spectacular in the past four years, but that could hardly be expected given its limited powers.

Yet it stands for the real political achievement of the 1950s. Euro-MPs are freely elected representatives of 10 European nation-states that have fought on opposite sides in two world wars this century.

They form common parliamentary groups consisting of British and Irish MEPs, Germans and French, Belgian, Dutch and Luxembourg members, Danes, Italians and Greeks.

Cooperation at the European Parliament may soon extend to include Spanish and Portuguese MPs.

The European Community's success is best measured in terms of the fact that no member-country seriously considers resigning from the EEC.

Yet that does not, by any stretch of the imagination, mean the Ten are prepared to keep in step as they progress toward integration.

In retrospect the first expansion of the European Community can be seen to have been a crucial juncture.

Britain and Denmark, two of the new members who joined in 1973, are diffi-



(Cartoon: Horst Heltzinger/Nordwest Zeitung)

cult partners, countries for which European union as a political objective is neither an urgent target nor an affair of the heart.

Reservations on the Stuttgart solemn declaration, which at least officially reiterated the political target of European integration, were also expressed by Greece.

Other governments that were likewise far from wildly enthusiastic about the declaration chose not to voice their views on the subject.

With southern expansion of the Community to include Spain and Portugal on the agenda, cooperation in Western Europe seems sure to grow more comprehensive.

But intensification of EEC integration seems likely to be the loser in this process.

No-one need be in any doubt that the more partners there are in the Community the more difficult it will become to arrive at a common denominator for their various interests.

It will also be more difficult to arrive at decisions that go above and beyond a compromise that is tolerable for all concerned.

There will need to be a counterweight to ensure that stagnation on integration does not lead to decline.

The European Commission, which its first president, Walter Hallstein, described as the custodian and driving force behind European integration, no longer has the force needed.

It has long ceased to have it and is now politically, if not legally, dependent on member governments.

Besides, its motive force has been largely exhausted by years of bureaucratic administration of mountains of butter, beef and other farm produce for which the Commission is by no means solely to blame.

That leaves the weakest Community institution, the European Parliament, whose members have done far from bad work since the first direct elections in June 1979, especially when their limited opportunities are borne in mind.

They have shown, up to a point, that European domestic policies are possible. Direct elections to the European Parliament will be held again between 14 and 17 June 1984.

Those who support European integration, even if, for good reasons, they are dissatisfied with the present state of affairs owe it to Euro-MPs to strengthen their hand by voting.

The Parliament alone cannot accomplish decisive progress in European affairs, but if it is backed by a majority of Euro-voters what it has to say will carry greater weight with member governments and the European Commission.

Günther Nonnenmacher  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 20 August 1983)

## Bonn uncovers a new political dimension in the Far East



High-level talks between Bonn and Tokyo, extremely important yet largely unnoticed by public opinion in the Federal Republic of Germany, were recently held in the Japanese capital.

The two-day consultations were described by Japanese commentators as the first high-grade talks on security policy ever held by Tokyo and Bonn.

They were the first bilateral contacts between the two governments since the Williamsburg summit, at which Japan made its debut as an active partner of the Atlantic alliance on missile disarmament.

The Tokyo talks were held at a time when the emphasis in respect of the overall East-West balance seemed to be

shifting to the Asian and Pacific regions.

Far Eastern observers are already referring to the Reagan axis, named after its initiators, US President Reagan and Japanese Premier Nakasone.

Slogans have been coined in this context to which little or no attention has been paid outside the region.

They include ideas such as a new Pacific economic order, a US-Asian prosperity concept and the transfer of the world's economic centre from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

What with these and Japan as the foremost US partner in containing Communist influence in the world by economic means one wonders whether Europe might not be in the process of missing a bandwagon that has already started to roll.

State secretary Berndt von Staden of  
Continued on page 2

## ■ WORLD AFFAIRS

## Reagan trip shows US concern for South-East Asia

President Reagan is to visit South-East Asia in November. He will be the first US President to do so since the Vietnam war.

The strategic importance of the region has been rediscovered by the Reagan administration.

South-East Asia has undergone sweeping changes since the glorious US withdrawal from Saigon in April 1975.

Hanoi holds sway throughout Indo-China and the Soviet Union has established a foothold.

The Russians have armed Vietnam to the teeth, making Hanoi a regional superpower and enabling the Vietnamese to conquer Kampuchea.

In return the Soviet Union has been allowed to establish military bases of its own.

Non-Communist South-East views the trend with growing anxiety. Governments of the ASEAN countries, Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaysia have urged the United States to pursue a more active Asian policy as a counterweight to Soviet influence.

They would like Washington to exert greater pressure on Hanoi to withdraw Vietnamese troops from Cambodia.

That was the message ASEAN Foreign Ministers conveyed to US Secretary of State Shultz when he met them in Bangkok.

Thailand in particular has demonstratively warned that the Soviet Union is a threat to Asia.

The Thai Foreign Minister has referred to reports that Moscow is installing new missile launching facilities in eastern Siberia that will almost double the number of SS-20 systems aimed at targets in Asia.

Vietnam, he said, was Moscow's Trojan horse in Asia. Soviet air force and naval units stationed in Vietnam had potentially grave consequences for the security of all Asian countries.

They made these countries susceptible to Soviet intimidation tactics, he warned. Last but not least, the Soviet Union threatened vital shipping routes between Europe and the Far East from these new bases.

The Russians now had operational bases in the heart of South-East Asia in the form of air force and naval facilities in Vietnam that were once built with US taxpayers' money.

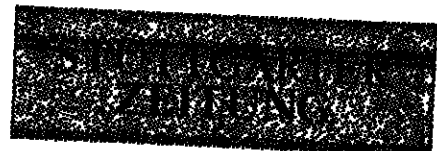
From these bases Soviet Backfire supersonic bombers could reach US bases in the Philippines and the Strait of Malacca, through which much of the crude oil-bound for Japan and other Asian countries passed.

They could not only reach these targets but also return to base without refuelling.

At Cam Ranh Bay, a former US naval base in Vietnam, the Russians have laid out underground fuel tanks and submarine pens.

In addition to other units half a dozen Soviet submarines are constantly stationed there, including three that are nuclear-powered and equipped with nuclear missiles.

In Kampuchea too, a mere 125 miles from the Thai border, Moscow is enlarging the deep-water port of Kompong Som, formerly Sihanoukville, and the Ream naval base.



The Soviet Pacific fleet now numbers over 200 vessels, including 45 major fighting units, 150 submarines and 350 fighter aircraft.

The US Seventh Fleet is small in comparison, but the Americans are convinced their 80-odd ships in the Pacific, including three aircraft carriers, and 375 aircraft are more than a match for the Red Fleet.

In 1980 four Soviet warships, led by the aircraft carrier *Minak*, showed the flag in the Gulf of Thailand.

The US fleet has since visited Thai ports more often and held more and larger exercises with units of the Thai navy.

This year alone a round dozen such manoeuvres are planned.

Vietnam's invasion of Cambodia has made Thailand a front-line state, as Mr Shultz pointed out in Bangkok in June, when he demonstratively reiterated America's pledge to come to Thailand's support.

Under Presidents Ford and Carter US pledges of support did not sound

too credible in Asia. ASEAN leaders seem to feel more inclined to believe President Reagan in this respect.

Many Asian politicians noted with satisfaction and approval President Reagan's statement that America had fought for a noble cause in Vietnam.

Most of them failed to come to terms with Jimmy Carter, his emphasis on human rights and, as they saw it, his pussyfooting toward the Communists.

Mr Carter, who was dissatisfied with the autocratic regime of President Marcos in the Philippines, allowed relations with Manila to cool off.

Mr Reagan has included Manila and Bangkok in his South-East Asian itinerary as America's foremost allies in the region.

He originally intended only to visit Jakarta as the current headquarters of the ASEAN secretariat, but America has its largest overseas air force base and its largest naval supply depot in the Philippines.

Since the Vietnam war South-East Asia has proved politically stable and developed most encouragingly in economic terms.

Fears that neighbouring states would fall like dominoes after the Communist

take-over in Indo-China have been unfounded.

A fair number of Asian states, including Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew, are convinced that the struggle in Vietnam has cleared the way for a new era of stability.

The US commitment in this argument runs, enabled by the economic stability of the region, to gain political and economic stability.

Economically South-East Asia is one of the most promising regions of the Third World.

It remains to be seen, however, what extent Mr Reagan can put his own preoccupations with detail in America of a more general policy in Asia.

It will be no easy task for the US to prepare to cancel a cabinet meeting on Capitol Hill of additional US commitments in the region. There is nothing to decide, don't you think?

On Cambodia, for instance, the Cabinet is more than just a talking shop. It is an important body. It is an important forum for discussion.

There is a lack of coordination both within the government and between the government and the states.

A strong hand to bring back some order is called for.

Chancellor Kohl can hardly be blamed for having kept out of the coalition disputes themselves lately (he is holidaying in Austria, from where he said in an interview that there were no major disputes in Bonn).

For the conflicts are too deep-rooted to be set aside. Any attempt by Kohl to use his authority to end them, therefore, would have been doomed to failure.

Perhaps he feels that leaving the parties to get on with their feuding would wear them out. This would make it easier to bring them to their senses.

Chancellor Kohl must take another look at both his style of leadership and the machinery of government if he wants to get through a turbulent autumn with an intact crew.

It is clear that the coalition, the Cabinet and the Chancellery are not running smoothly.

There are disputes within the coalition, especially between the CDU and FDP. A major issue to settle is with the CDU which, thinks there is no need for long-term coalition with the FDP.

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## ■ HOME AFFAIRS

## Kohl needs to iron out a few coalition crinkles

about overall policy through regular Cabinet discussion.

One example: the government has been harmed by conflicting statements by Cabinet members over the extent to which Bonn has guaranteed the big bank loan to East Berlin. This shows that, on this point, Ministers were not sufficiently informed.

Perhaps Schmidt's obsession with details and his demand that Cabinet meetings should be attended by all members had its point.

It is also obvious that the Chancellery has not yet become the pivotal point of Bonn politics, as it was under Schmidt.

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Chancellor Kohl... rumblings in the ranks. (Photo: Sven Simon)

that can provide the majority needed to govern.

As a result, the CDU is trying to be equitable towards its junior partner and, as Dräger puts it, protect it from a situation in which it might no longer be able to keep face.

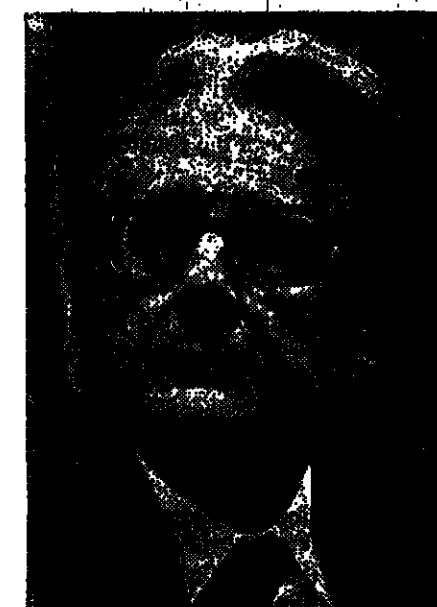
This applies not only to Bonn but to the states of Hesse and Bremen as well.

The conflict over the bill that would prohibit demonstrators from concealing their faces and over the statements of Aliens Commissioner Liselotte Funke (FDP) would never have arisen if the CDU had pursued the same policy.

Those elements in the CDU that consider a long-term cooperation with the FDP superfluous keep emerging. There will be no peace in the coalition unless Kohl manages to settle this basic conflict.

Heinz Murmann  
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 August 1983)

## Social Democrats search for a new political identity



Hans-Jochen Vogel... at the helm. (Photo: Sven Simon)

issues as economic, fiscal and environmental policy.

As the Social Democrats see it, the traditional growth policy is obsolete anyway. It is neither feasible nor desirable.

The existing policy can neither stop the destruction of the environment nor can it present a new class of underprivileged people from emerging: jobless youth, foreigners, academics and blue and white collar workers.

A party that succeeds in presenting new economic steering mechanisms

without curtailing personal freedoms, a party that evolves more meaningful forms of work while upholding social justice, could well become the governing party of the future.

The FDP is out of the question as a possible partner in a coalition of structural renewal — at least for the time being.

This leaves the Greens. But if Willy Brandt's vision of a "majority left of centre" is to become reality, the Greens would have to develop from adolescent pranksters into a party capable of being a coalition partner and drafting policy.

The have many a good idea to bring into a coalition.

The old concept of progress as outlined in the officially still applicable SPD Godesberg Programme of 1959 is an unsuitable instrument for the future.

Even more than before, progress today means a meaningful preservation of the existing.

The belief that science and technology would gradually make the world a better place to live in has been questionable for some time. But so far no political conclusions have been drawn from this.

The social compatibility of technical progress is still to be achieved in a political struggle, and it is realists rather than romantics who can achieve this.

The SPD has a chance to step out of its opposition role and enter this new territory.

Jeis Gundlach  
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 16 August 1983)

## Tokyo talks

alliance obligations toward the United States.

Bonn has certainly realised that Germany and Japan have more in common than mere second-rate trade squabbles.

On security matters the two governments see eye to eye inasmuch as neither imputes that the USSR has intentions of military aggression.

They also agree that maintaining peace and stability is not just a military it is increasingly a matter for economic and development policy.

In Williamsburg the Japanese Premier accepted this new role for his country, which went on to make fresh loans to Central America, the Middle East, Indonesia, South Korea, China and Turkey.

But the Japanese government recently had to admit it would be unable to double its economic aid in five years because of the pressure of Japan's national debt.

The ideas that lie behind White House views on the subject were outlined by US Presidential adviser Norman Bailey in Brussels last May.

In a speech to which considerable importance was attached in Asia he said: "The world's economic centre of gravity is shifting with gathering momentum to the Pacific region."

US trade with the Asian Pacific region already makes up 40 per cent of America's import-export business. Asian countries take a similar view of the trend.

Vice-Premier Rajaratnam of Singapore feels the Asian Pacific region will have outstripped the Atlantic economically by the 1990s.

Asian economists note that newly industrialised countries in the region such

as Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea — and they alone — count for 20 per cent of world trade at the end of the century.

German influence in the region to be on the wane. It was Japanese who noted at an economic symposium in Düsseldorf that the mechanical engineering exports to the Pacific have declined by 10 per cent over the past 10 years.

Over this period Japanese exports have increased to nearly 40 per cent of US exports to over 30 per cent.

A Malaysian diplomat agreed that Germans are handling the matter to the Japanese and Americans.

At the Bonn Foreign Office pointed out that EEC-ASEAN relations was a German idea born of isolation how important the region.

"Asia is definitely not marginal on the map as far as we are concerned," Herr von Staden, "although Europe cannot hope to draw Japanese and US trading figures."

Peter Hopen  
(General-Anzeiger Bonn, 14 August 1983)

## The German Tribune

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(Northwest-Zeitung, 19 August 1983)



## World Council of Churches runs into some temporal difficulties

The World Council of Churches entered something of a crisis at its general assembly meeting in Vancouver.

The reason is a change in the balance of opinion that has affected many international organisations: Third World nations now have a weightier say.

In terms of numbers of churches and members, Europe and North America no longer dominate. The pendulum has swung towards Asia, Africa and Latin America. The high Third World birth rate means that the swing is growing every year.

The change showed in, among other things, the number of political topics on the agenda: people's survival in this world is the main task of Third World churches.

The catchphrases here are famine, death from poverty, violence, ignorance and the drive to share in humanity's worldly goods and abilities so that the people born in that part of the world can survive.

They took the theme of the meeting, Jesus Christ, life of the world, literally. Justice took second place in the political discussion and peace was assigned to third place.

But on reading the resolution on peace and justice presented and adopted on the last day of the meeting this sequence appears to be reversed.

In the resolution, peace and nuclear disarmament are pivotal.

The sections on justice give the impression of having been added as an afterthought.

The delegates had too long been kept in groups, and in the end they had little choice but to adopt papers they did not fully understand.

As a result, the statement on peace is dominated by the ideas of erudite, Western-educated theologians obsessed with ridding the world of nuclear weapons before the holocaust prophesied by them.

But the applause for the condemnation of the arms race gave no clue as to where the hearts of the delegates lay.

What really mattered to them became clear a few hours later when a proposed peace council of all churches was passed on to the central committee without further discussion.

As opposed to the general assemblies of 1968 (in Uppsala, Sweden) and 1975 (in Nairobi, Kenya), political topics were not given priority in Vancouver. Theology was the dominant issue.

### No new insights

Though the Vancouver meeting did not result in any new theological insights, it confirmed the decision made in the past few years that social activities are only the consequence of Christian faith, theological work and the striving for the unity of the church over which they must not gain the upper hand. Yet this happened over several years to the detriment of unity in the Ecumenical Council.

The political over-activity at the Geneva head office has meanwhile been pared down to size. But that happened



too recently to leave an imprint on the World Council of Churches.

No progress has been made on the main ecumenical question as to a further rapprochement between Geneva and Rome. But the inclusion of the Orthodox Churches, above all the Russian one, has promoted progress in the Ecumenical Council.

One step in this direction was the recommendation to all churches to debate the study "Baptism, Eucharist and Church Office" that was completed in Lima in 1982.

This "declaration of convergence" shows that the teachings of the churches are more similar than generally assumed.

The conciliar community of the Eastern churches envisaged in Nairobi in 1975 was augmented in Vancouver by the objective of a eucharistic community. This is to bring the churches closer to unity; but it is unlikely that it will lead to practical results soon.

In its community of small groups and in its church services, the general assembly clearly bore the stamp of its

Evidently, German Protestantism just can't put a foot right. One group accuses the Protestant churches in the federal states of meekly toeing the state line. Yet some politicians say they have no rapport with democratic principles.

Of course, Lothar Rühl, state secretary at the Bonn Defence Ministry, was not very original when he asked if the Christian churches in general and the Protestant Church in particular were able to coexist with the country's constitutional democracy.

As far back as April 1981, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt said that in their hearts the churches had not yet adopted democracy.

Why get worked up about the oversimplifications of Bonn VIPs (who have not exactly made a name for themselves as being knowledgeable about the churches) when even a theology professor like Trutz Rentschler makes a whole magazine article revolve around the maxim of the "traditional Protestant incompatibility with democracy"?

Granted, there is little mining of words in politically troubled times. But it is not very convincing when people who rightly demand that their opponents show a maximum ability to differentiate produce and disseminate nothing but clichés.

If "the ability to consent to and co-exist with democracy" is to be understood as meaning that the churches must accept the basic features of the official security policy, a rebuttal is called for.

There is no law that could prevent the churches from opposing a political decision or an entire policy line.

It is a basic element of democracy that persons and associations enjoy the freedom of opposition and opinion wi-

secretary-general, Pottor, who is to retire in 1985.

The lack of major events highlighted a work that would have gone under at a more impressive conference, i.e. the statement on community learning.

The church as teacher is not just an ambition but reality.

Twelve hundred years ago, it was monks who taught the Germanic tribes modern agriculture; and 300 years ago it was pietism that brought development to Prussia.

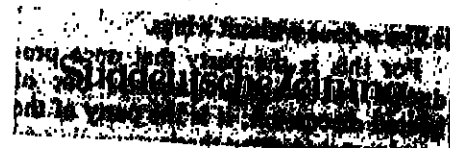
In development work in the field and in pastoral work in their home countries, it was the churches that instilled the principle of self-help where other institutions had failed.

But the churches are in double jeopardy of losing their link with the people and the sources that once turned them into churches. A church can only fulfil its teaching tasks while it learns. Theology alone will not do.

The empty churches must serve as a warning. The churches must once more learn how to learn. They must learn together with the people — the old, the young, the children, the jobless, the soldiers, the police and the pacifists.

They must learn once more to permit the Bible to speak in a way that will reach the people and they must learn to hold their services in a way that will

## Protestants just can't please everyone at the same time



thin the framework of the Constitution. And if the churches wish to oppose the government's public debt or its peace policy or any other decision, this is their good right.

But what matters internally is whether the churches' action is compatible with the Gospel. The Ten Commandments and the Protestant Church's own constitution.

If the state tried to curtail these freedoms it would be the state that would have to prove its "compatibility with democracy."

But if this kind of fundamental opposition by the churches were to fall on deaf ears they, like anybody else, would have no right to take action against constitutionally made decisions, thus violating the law.

Here, too, the churches are under and not above the roof of legitimate state law.

With this in mind, it would be absurd to say that Germany's churches are at odds with our democratic constitution. They are every bit as loyal to the Constitution as the trade unions, the political parties — and state secretaries.

But, as with all other social grou-

## What WCO GERMANY

The Geneva-based World Council of Churches was founded in 1948 as a community of Protestant, Orthodox, Anglican, Old-Catholic Churches.

The Catholic Church is a member but it has a close relationship and usually sends representatives to major events.

The general assembly, convened every six to ten years and has just been held in Vancouver, is the most important of the organisation.

Every member church has one vote in the assembly. The affairs are handled by the committee, whose members are elected by the general assembly. In its turn, the central committee appoints the secretary-general.

There is also an executive committee of 19 and many special committees.

The head office houses the General Secretariat and permanent offices of the various committees.

(Nordwest Zeitung, 14 August 1983)

prevent young people and from running away from them.

No church has an edge over on this score. The necessity for churches to learn together on the ecumenical bond that will hold

Karl-Albrecht (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, 14 August 1983)

the age of supranational dreams is over. In retrospect de Gaulle is seen

have been right. Nationhood and nationalism have regained topicality, especially among the Germans, a divided people.

Yet this topicality, to which a large number of publications testify, is probably inasmuch as reunification is given the power situation, an operational aim of political activity.

It paralyses the activity of the Germans, but no-one is satisfied with the current state of affairs, neither left nor right. The German Question continues to be considered unresolved.

A new left-wing nationalism has been covered. Peter Brandt, the son of the leader Willy Brandt, and Herbert von Arnim have outlined its chronological progress in their documentation on "Left and the National Issue."

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## Anatomy of a nation: new books peer behind the scenes

mocracy because it has brought them affluence and security. For 35 years there has been virtually no support for anti-democratic political parties.

But they lack emotional ties, genuine affection for democracy. Neither in other Common Market countries nor in the United States are law and order assigned as much importance as in Germany.

Elsewhere they come low on the list of people's priorities.

Special importance attaches to US historian Gordon A. Craig's *The Germans in the context of current literature on Germany*.

It is a survey that could only have been written from a profound knowledge of events and trends, from lengthy and continuous personal experience and with the detachment of a foreigner.

In each chapter, as he outlines the current situation, Professor Craig refers in passing, as it were, to the entire panorama of German history.

His judgements on the present are based on a wealth of experience. His references to the past give them added depth.

What is more, the German reader gains important insights that only an outsider, or rather the outsider's view, is capable of arriving at.

Craig paints a portrait. He tries to capture in its entirety a nation that has been in existence for a millennium.

He seeks to interpret the many forms it has taken in art and politics, law and science in terms of an inner process of development.

"Documents of the 10th century refer to a regnum teutonicum as an established fact, which would seem to indicate that a recognisable national identity or national consciousness already existed."

He deals with the individual sectors of life in a remarkably quick and sure-footed manner, pausing to check time-related changes in German continuity.

### 6 Democracy is firmly established ... Bonn is not Weimar and it never will be 9

Professor Craig arrives at judgements with a superb sense of detachment and without making the comparisons between national traits that are so popular yet of so little meaning.

He begins his chapter on religion by drily stating that German intellectuals have so often declared God to be dead that one really ought to be surprised how much space German newspapers still devote to the subject of religion.

On money he deals with its magical, transformational power from the custodians of the Nibelungen treasure via Mephisto as an imaginative inflationary artist in Goethe's *Faust II* and Karl Marx to Botho Strauss' comment that: "Instead of war we have now re-established a world of money."

On women: "Their struggle for equal rights was similar in Germany, at least in its early stages, in a number of striking ways to the history of Jewish emancipation."

He has similarly perceptive com-

ments to make on university professors and students, on the Romantic movement, on the military and on Berlin, "Athens on the Spree and a city of crisis."

The fundamental approach to be read between the lines of this wide-ranging outline is an optimistic outlook.

Professor Craig would like to make it clear to his fellow-Americans, who like all of us are frequently prone to prejudice, that it is wrong to say the Germans will never change.

It has mainly been the French who ascribed to the view that the Germans would invariably revert to their old selves.

In Professor Craig's view 1945 was such a watershed in German history that despite all continuity a far-reaching change can be diagnosed.

The gap between Germany and the West has been clearly narrowed. Democracy is firmly established and certainly stands a chance of lasting. Bonn is not Weimar and never will be.

The books by Willms and Schulz were written with a similar interest in what Germans today are getting up to, but limit themselves to a single aspect, that of Deutschlandpolitik.

They start from diametrically opposite premises and arrive at contrasting postulates for practical politics.

Willms is a professed nationalist and works on the assumption that "for the Germans nothing is as necessary as a new nationalism."

Yet this is a fact they have so far failed to appreciate. In the contemporary scale of values greater importance is attached to democracy than to the nation.

Willms feels these are mistaken priorities. "Democracy is part of what one has; the nation is what one is." The result of history.

So the Germans are identical with their Nazi past, including both victims and hangmen. Willms does not approve of a selective view of history.

He feels it is as unhistoric as it is inappropriate to pick out democratic or, more primitively, progressive traits in German history and identify with them, as the late President Heinemann recommended.

By the same token Willms is opposed to singling out only the negative aspects. Moralising on the past merely prevents a nation from developing a fresh self-awareness.

In the historical context a nation has enemies. It has, to use Carl Schmitt's term, which Willms follows, a friend-foe relationship.

The foe, as he sees it, is the Soviet Union, which as a system is opposed to the free world and as a superpower is in a position to threaten all Europe from its Asian sector.

Last but not least, and in respect of Germany, the Soviet Union prevents its part of the German nation from exercising its nationhood.

In Willms's view the Germans are not aware of the Soviet threat. Instead, they hide behind moral self-humiliation, hopes of detente and ideologies of denationalisation.

Eberhard Schulz's book is more com-

prehensive in its conception, subtler in its interpretation and more flexible in its operational outlook.

He too has the maintenance of national unity in mind. He too works on the assumption that the Soviet Union would not at present be prepared to permit reunification.

But he does not regard the basic situation as a friend-foe relationship. He sees it as the result of historical development that admits of the possibility of true detente.

The nation is not, in his view, a categorical imperative either. Nations have suffered the most varied fates, have declined and been divided, have expelled people, gained and lost, and parts have established themselves as new and independent nation-states.

The real danger to German unity is, as Schulz sees it, not renunciation of the legal claim to national unity but the gradual decline of a common identity felt to exist in both parts of Germany.

The Germans do not run a risk of being denationalised from without. None of the wartime Allies sought to denationalise its zone of occupation.

But the common nationhood cannot be maintained permanently if the East German leaders continue to pursue a rigid policy of seclusion and demarcation from the Federal Republic.

### 6 Germans are hiding behind moral self humiliation and the hopes of detente 9

So if German unity is less threatened externally than by a gradual decline in consciousness of a common identity within, the foremost goal for German leaders is clear.

It must be to maintain links and ties between the two German states, especially communications and personal relations between people in the two states, and to intensify and reactivate them at the cost of forgoing reunification if need be.

No less a person than Konrad Adenauer raised the idea of a separate right of self-determination for Germans in the GDR.

Even the most ardent advocates of freedom, such as Franz Josef Strauss and Axel Springer, would accept an Austrian-style solution.

So Schulz attaches priority to the German Question rather than the national issue. What matters, as he sees it, is how relations between Germans in the two states develop.

Willms sees a danger in meeting the Soviet Union half-way, that of weakening one's own position by means of "change through rapprochement" and forfeiting freedom, only to end up under the sway of the all-powerful Soviet Union.

Schulz would reply that the Soviet Union is always in a position to use reunification as a bait but will never do so.

For one, that would make the East German leaders' position insecure. For another, while the Kremlin might agree to neutralisation of the Federal Republic it would be most unlikely to voluntarily agree to neutral status for the GDR.

The Russian leaders might find a Communist Bonn government convenient, but not a Communist all-German state.

Peter Coulmas (Stuttgarter Zeitung, 15 August 1983)



Development aid has neither eased poverty nor reduced the wealth gap between North and South.

Criticism of aid programmes is growing. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Unctad, demanded at its meeting in Belgrade a massive increase in the amount of aid. Are the failures so far because of not enough aid or is the whole approach wrong?

Gunnar Myrdal, a Swedish economist, once thought that development aid should rise constantly and massively.

Myrdal, a Nobel Prize winner and a former Swedish Minister of Trade, now says that that aid programmes should concentrate on care of the poor and disaster relief.

He says development aid helps the rich get richer and the poor get poorer.

Together with Dudley Seers, Myrdal outlined his poverty strategy in a widely noted article written for the London daily paper, *The Guardian*, last year.

The authors charged the first Brandt Report on development aid with having ignored the true conditions in most developing countries. These countries, the article said, are predominantly dictatorships or have authoritarian governments not interested in helping the poor.

Large amounts of money were either wasted, for instance corruption, or benefited only the ruling elite.

Many donor governments did not keep promises to concentrate their aid on the poorest countries.

Political and commercial motivations played a major role in granting aid.

The authors no longer exempted the previously praised multinational organisations from their criticism.

## THE THIRD WORLD

# Whole development aid issue comes under scrutiny

They urged governments to continue to step up their development aid. But they called on the donors to make absolutely sure that their aid benefited the needy.

Non-government agencies, including the churches, should play important roles.

These organisations had moral motivation and the ability to deal directly with local institutions, bypassing governments.

A Bundestag resolution passed by all parties in March last year described the fight against absolute poverty as a priority of German development policy. The main target group was to be the poorest groups.

But only rarely do ideas match the deeds.

Commercial or political motivations dominate the actions of the donors, despite denials.

A small selection of global data indicates that the criterion of poverty in granting aid had only a minimal effect: only 56.8 per cent of the world's governments aid went to low income countries in 1981 (i.e. countries with a per capita income of no more than \$410 a year).

And only 21.6 per cent went to the poorest countries that are part of this group.

Aid aimed at combating absolute poverty and improving the social posi-

tion of the masses is much more complex and protracted, and less spectacular and export-promoting, than traditional financial and technical aid.

It is also less attractive for many donors and meets with serious obstacles in recipient countries.

A late report in 1979 by the then Development Aid Minister, Rainer Offergeld (SPD), said the success of development aid hinged on the developing countries themselves. It was up to them to create the preconditions for the success of foreign aid.

The report hit the nail on the head when it said: "Hierarchic orders aimed at keeping large sections of the population underprivileged or at repressing ethnic groups hinders development. This applies even more to countries where rampant corruption or other gross shortcomings can lead to social unrest or civil war."

Statements by Offergeld's successor, Jürgen Warnke, and his parliamentary secretary, Volkmar Köhler, indicate that the Ministry is prepared to act.

Warnke wants to increase discussion with the recipient countries in a bid to achieve the necessary preconditions for economic and social development.

Köhler stresses the points on which the present development policy differs from that of the previous government, saying: "We want a policy dialogue that will take our legitimate interests into account. The emphasis must be on help towards self-help. The main preconditions for development are such things as a pluralistic society, private initiative and free enterprise."

Decades of experience, he says, have shown "developing countries with elements of free enterprise to be more successful than those with planned economies."

But under no circumstances does Bonn wish to foist its own economic ideas on the developing countries, says Köhler.

Some years ago, when Berlin Senator Elmar Pflerth was still the CDU's development aid spokesman in the Bundestag, he got to the core of the matter by formulating this maxim: "Do nothing the developing countries don't want. But don't do everything they want unless it meets our development priorities."

It would be wrong in this connection to speak of violations of sovereign rights or of interference. Outside aid always contains an element of "interference", but no country is forced to accept or offer aid.

It would be absurd to expect a donor to grant aid against his better judgment. And it would be wrong to ideologically malign the "terms and conditions" that go with aid of these terms, and conditions are simply the result of a mutual agreement on the aims and implementation of the aid.

It would greatly promote the successful conclusion of a policy dialogue if all parties concerned realised that even the most massive outside aid cannot solve the internal problems of the recipient countries without parallel measures by their governments.

Otto Matzke

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 12 August 1983)

## Private finance up as public concern grows

Private efforts to raise development aid for the Third World are becoming more successful despite unemployment and stagnation.

A Bonn Ministry of Development Aid report says the reason for this is that the public understanding of the problems is increasing.

In 1982, donations for development projects of the churches, foundations and smaller private organisations rose 13 per cent over the previous year.

In 1981, 167 organisations raised a total of DM839m. This was a 10 per cent increase on the DM749m of the previous year.

Unlike the state, whose development aid was financed from tax payments, private organisations must convince donors that their work is both necessary and worthy.

And they must do it time and time again.

They must also show that their money was used as intended. Bonn has been supporting agencies with Federal funds. By using some of its budget, these non-governmental organisations have been able to achieve results that cannot be achieved by bilateral agreements at government level.

The idea is that something is done by whoever does it best. In this concept, the state withdraws from the money the state would spend to do something less effectively.

Private development aid agencies often have expert personnel in target countries who can channel money past the government bureaucracy and past prestige objects to the poor and into useful projects.

This enables "government money" to reach particularly needy sections of the population where the traditional means of bilateral government aid are less effective.

On average, the non-governmental organisations received DM2.50 per person in the past three years.

The ratio for church organisations was DM1 to DM4.10 and for private organisations without political affiliations DM1 to DM8.70.

This favourable ratio of donations and government subsidies averages DM1 to DM2.5 because many organisations received considerably more in subsidies than they could raise.

Organisations like Freedom from Hunger, Leprosy Relief, the Red Cross, Medico International, Terre des Hommes, the World Peace Service and scores of other organisations are not out of business if they had to rely on donations only.

Among those that received considerable Federal subsidies for their development work — trade union promotion, cooperatives, self-help organisations and the media — are also the foundations of the political parties.

Between 1962 and 1982, government funding here rose from DM186.9m to DM186.9m. This means that the foundations received more of the state's money than the private organisations (DM171.2m).

The Ministry says nothing about its own funds, restricted to itself to saying that they pay for the state's own projects.

Continued on page 7

## FINANCE

# EEC waters down plan for labour-relations laws

particularly in favour of co-determination.

It was a somewhat dispirited Vetter who pointed to the compromise on the corporate law guidelines that had been reached in 1979 between the Christian Democrats and the Socialists: one-third of the supervisory board members were to represent the stockholders, one-third the staff and the last third were to have been elected jointly by these two groups.

But the European majority did not agree, so the EEC Commission now leave it to member nations to choose between three models.

The first model provides that staff representatives should hold no less than one-third and no more than half the supervisory board seats.

In the second model, the board members are elected jointly by capital and labour representatives. An arbitration panel would rule on disputes.

The third model provides for a sort of separate labour supervisory board, though without the right to reverse management decisions.

Each of these guidelines would amount to progress for labour in Britain, France, Italy, Ireland, Greece and Belgium. But it is doubtful whether Margaret Thatcher's government would approve of such revolutionary innovations in the Council of Ministers.

The German attitude is that the 1976 *Betriebsverfassungsgesetz* (an extensive set of laws governing labour-management relations) must not be changed to labour's detriment.

It is above all Britain that is likely to oppose the so-called "information guide-

lines" in the Council of Ministers although the Commission's new draft is not as harsh as its 1980 predecessor.

But the British EEC Commissioner for Social Affairs, Ivor Richard, has gone out of his way to preserve the basic concept of his Dutch predecessor, Henk Vredeling (hence the frequently used name "Vredeling guidelines"), despite the amendment wishes of the Conservative majority in the European Parliament.

Especially in subsidiary companies of multinational corporations, the employees are no longer to be faced with a sudden closure of their plant due to a management decision in some distant country.

Under the new draft, all companies with one or more subsidiaries employing at least 1,000 people must inform staff representatives at least one a year about their financial position, the anticipated development of production and sales, investments and the projected development of the payroll.

Exact information must be provided by the parent company before any important decisions (such as the shutdown or the relocation of a plant or major parts of it, major organisational changes or changes in production methods like the introduction of new technologies) are taken.

In such cases, talks between staff representatives and management must be held within 30 days to bring about agreement on measures planned by the work force.

If necessary, the staff is to be able to go to court to force the employer to hear them.

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Another point provides for internal company agreements to the effect that "a panel representing all employees of the parent company and its subsidiaries in the Community may be created." This would amount to a sort of "super works council".

But whether the trade unions are prepared and in a position to institutionalise this "may" provision is doubtful.

Still, Heinz Oskar Vetter attributes great importance to it.

Attempts by the Federation of European Metalworkers Unions to bring about such works councils at companies like Philips and some automakers have failed on a number of occasions.

Under the new guidelines, management would not have to disclose information which, if made public, would do considerable harm.

If necessary, the courts or an arbitration panel would have to decide how these provisions are to be interpreted.

According to the unions, it is here that the business lobby in the European parliament has achieved its biggest breakthrough in defusing the basic idea.

"It would be better than nothing if the information and corporate law guidelines were to be passed by the Council of Ministers at least in their present form," says Vetter.

Social Affairs Commissioner Richard says that this should be possible next year.

But it will take at least another two years before the national legislation of the member states can be changed accordingly.

For some multinational corporations this would be the first major breakthrough in terms of a certain degree of labour co-determination, and Community trade unions would be forced to cooperate more closely.

Erich Hauser

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 15 August 1983)

## New trade war over cereals ripe to sprout

Because of this huge price difference, Europe's hogs, cattle and poultry eat more and more cheap manioc, citrus pellets and bran.

There would be no surpluses at all if the animals were fed Community grain. In fact, the Community would be able to provide only 96 per cent of its cereal requirements. The remaining four per cent would have to be imported.

But as things stand, it has to try and get rid of its cereal surpluses on world markets that are flooded with cheap grain from such major producer countries as the USA, Canada and Argentina.

To compete, the Community has to subsidise its expensive grain to bring it down to world market prices.

Small wonder then that a trade war must ensue when America dumps its subsidised cereals, as it is doing now with Egypt.

The US has another bumper wheat crop coming up. With its 2.3 billion bushels (about 84 million tons) this year will see America's fourth largest wheat harvest, despite the fact that government programmes have cut the land area under cultivation by more than 20 per cent.

The blame also goes to the foxy farmer who sells his grain to the Community at the guaranteed high prices and feeds his livestock American and Asian feed that floods Europe free of duty and at give-away prices.

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Continued on page 7

## Politics at first hand

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## PERSPECTIVE

Burning issue:  
control  
over missilesDEUTSCHES  
ALLGEMEINES  
SONNTAGS  
BLATT

US nuclear weapons are stationed in Europe. But the Europeans can neither prevent their use nor ensure that they are used if necessary.

The situation is unquestionably awkward, especially as it involves about 6,000 nuclear warheads.

It may be an ally who decides whether or not to use nuclear weapons, but the fact remains that Europeans have handed over responsibility to a foreign power on a matter of life and death.

Yet it is realistic to aim at a European say on the use of American nuclear weapons in Europe, even if it involves only a right of veto or objection to their use?

Neither the Bonn government nor the Opposition seems particularly enamoured of this suggestion by the Bavarian Premier, and a glance at Nato history shows there to be sound reasons for restraint.

Europeans have never been entirely happy about US nuclear weapons in Europe being entirely out of their control. An intensive transatlantic debate on this issue was held in the early 1960s.

President Kennedy launched the idea of a multilateral nuclear force (MLF) in a bid to satisfy the European claim to a say in nuclear defence.

The United States was prepared to assign to Nato command five Polaris subs with a combined total of 100 nuclear missiles.

The submarines were to be jointly owned by the Nato countries, manned by mixed crews from various countries, and all concerned would jointly decide on their use.

The proposal was made at a time when General de Gaulle aimed to lead France to fresh glory and constantly irritated the West with his leaps and bounds.

He demanded a three-member directorate to run Nato. He had ideas of a European political union and a Franco-German alliance, not to mention a 'Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals'.

In the wake created by this policy the MLF eventually foundered. Britain bought US missiles and was no longer interested in the multilateral force.

General de Gaulle, who was not offered the same terms by President Kennedy as Britain was, went ahead with the French nuclear force de frappe and eventually withdrew the French armed forces from Nato entirely.

The Americans lost interest in the project because their hopes of persuading Britain and France to scrap their independent nuclear deterrents had been mistaken.

In the end, MLF supporters in Bonn, who included Foreign Minister Schröder and Defence Ministers Strauss and von Hassel, were forced to write off the whole idea.

It had never been considered militarily practicable in any case.

The debate was not to no avail, however, as Nato set up the nuclear planning group (NPG) in which European Defence Ministers play a part in target planning for US nuclear weapons.

The NPG has evolved into a discussion forum for all manner of strategic issues within Nato.

Europeans and Americans also reached agreement on a consultation arrangement in the event of nuclear weapons being considered for use in wartime.

This procedure is acted out every other year in the Fallex staff exercises. High-ranking civil servants and military men who have taken part over the years say agreement has invariably been reached.

So Europeans today have at least a right to discuss the use of nuclear weapons, if not to decide whether or not they are to be used.

Only in Great Britain is there anything approaching a two-key system. US bases in Britain are jointly administered.

US and British troops are to serve alongside each other at Cruise missile bases in Britain, whereas Cruise and Pershing 2 missiles in other Nato countries are to be allocated to purely US units.

## Differences

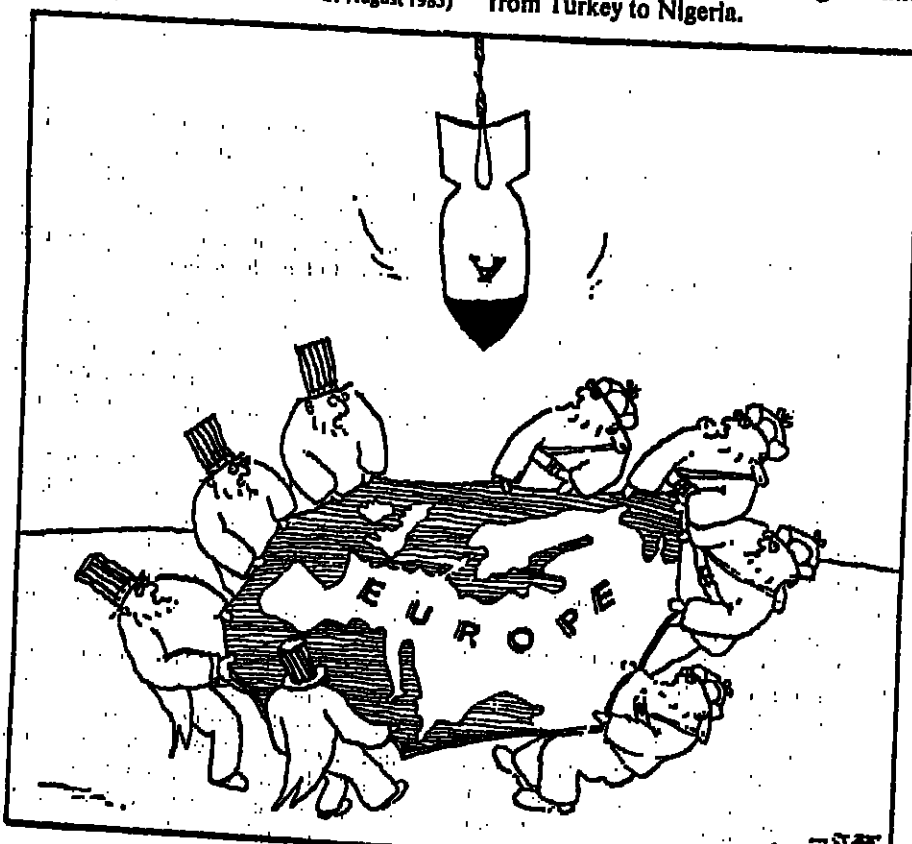
But does this "second key" in British hands mean Britain will be able to prevent warheads from being activated? Will the British government have a legal right of veto on the use of US nuclear weapons from British soil? These are questions on which British views differ.

It is hard to envisage the Americans allowing the Europeans more than a right to consultation. A great power is not going to leave its fate in its allies' hands and not going to make its future depend on majority decisions within an alliance.

That is the difference between other Nato countries and the United States. It is one with which they must learn to live.

It may arguably also be the price they have to pay for being so content to rely on others in matters of defence policy.

Gustav Trampo

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,  
21 August 1983)

(Cartoon: Tatto / Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt)

Differing attitudes towards  
war and peace

Why are politicians and the public repeatedly surprised by dramatic developments that seem inconceivable until the moment they happen?

Neither was prepared for the total instability of the Shah's regime in the late 1970s or for the disintegration of power structures in Poland after the collapse of the Gierk regime in 1980.

Both were shocked by the unexpected transition to an apparently alien theocracy in Iran and amazed by the trial of strength between Polish workers and panic-stricken Communist leaders.

It was not just public opinion that was totally unaware of what was about to happen. So were Western politicians. Cologne political scientist Hans-Peter Schwarz cited these two examples in a lecture to the general meeting of the German Association on Foreign Affairs in Bonn.

They were, he said, instances of how the prevailing universal or global approach from the angle of one's own values repeatedly lead to wrong assessments.

Misleading generalisations were the result of neglecting the particular view in relations with other countries, peoples and civilisations.

They resulted from a failure to appreciate the differences in mentality and value systems and too little consideration for the special features of each country, people and region.

Professor Schwarz, whose lecture is in the latest issue of *Europa-Archiv*, the association's fortnightly journal, is by no means opposed to a universal political view of connections and interdependencies.

He does, however, recommend more consideration of particular domestic structures and warns against mistakenly applying one's own values to other peoples.

Professor Schwarz makes three points in particular:

● There is a religious dimension in the politics of other countries. It is evidenced not only by Islamic fundamentalism in Iran but also by trends in countries ranging from Indonesia to Algeria and from Turkey to Nigeria.

It is a trend that instils trembling into modern elites.

There is also what he calls the power of Buddhist beliefs, mentalism of Protestantism, the religious outlook of black people.

Spirituality is a political factor alien to and hard to understand from a worldly viewpoint, the materialist look that prevails in Germany.

Yet mistaken assessments are possible if the religious factor in the politics of other countries is neglected.

● Views differ on war and peace. Given the peace-loving nature of the international easy-going climate of the Federal Republic of Germany, which pursues policies aimed at non-violence, many Germans tend to appreciate that more so.

Other countries, such as America, France, are unrelentingly dismissive of the security by means of nuclear build-ups.

They also fail to understand that there are nations that still value their resolving their conflicts, and Chinese and Indo-Chinese, Pakistanis, the Argentinians and the British, the Israelis and the Arabs.

The scale of values that has increased since a civil servant, Germany, Professor Schwarz, high-flying but starchy-eyed, in a letter to *Blickpunkt*, a Bonn magazine, made people moralise instead of understanding and to reach conclusions, which would be according to the latest scientific findings to eliminate certain toxic substances from the water.

● Views also differ on nuclear systems. German public opinion has special difficulty in drawing conclusions. After a decade of detailed work in the Federal Republic, many have learnt, he says, that Bonn itself has unproblematically tried our own must arrive at a medium between freedom and principles and common sense.

So they find it least difficult to allowances for the Communist But they are much less ready to take into account specific conditions of the individual instance.

Professor Schwarz advises that in mind that a common sense to foreign affairs is to view as a special case.

There is so much tension many evils and it is wrong and special to attribute them all to a universal causes, such as underdevelopment, the East-West conflict, capitalism, capitalist exploitation or ever.

Such cliché-ridden views, according to a moralising application of own values to other countries, bound to lead to self-delusion and judgement.

Instability in many countries is due to specific causes connected with the country or countries in question.

Those who neglect these factors are constantly surprised by seemingly inexplicable developments.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 12 August 1983)

## THE ENVIRONMENT

Ortho-chloronitrobenzole causes more than  
a few ripples along the Rhine

beneath which traces can no longer be identified.

The findings were said to prove "that the pollution of the Rhine with chloronitrobenzole which was found to have occurred at the beginning of October has since declined."

Herr Edel and the city of Bonn are now engaged in a lawsuit to determine whether 0.72 micrograms of the carcinogenic compound that is known to affect the genes is a dangerous level at which the water works ought to have been shut down.

Both sides refer to European Community guidelines laid down in 1980 that distinguish between organic chlorine compounds and permanent organic chlorine compounds.

The maximum level permitted for the one is 1 microgram per litre, for the other 0.1 microgram per litre of water. On 1 September Bonn county court is to rule on whether ortho-chloronitrobenzole is a permanent or an ordinary organic chlorine compound.

It may be seen as hair-splitting. Whichever way the court rules there will be no proof of a health hazard for the people of Bad Godesberg, not to mention the diplomats.

Herr Edel was in any case overstating his case in claiming that the people of

Bad Godesberg were "a little nearer Heaven."

Yet the case raises three problems: ● Toxins such as chloronitrobenzole can penetrate water works filters, and the pollution level in Godesberg tap water in early October is likely to have been much higher.

The first sample was not analysed until it was all over bar the shouting. The previous day the Dutch had starting using Rhine water again because their readings were back down to a normal level.

● Purification of toxin-laden Rhine water is total only in respect of substances that are hard to dissolve in water. Readily soluble salts such as are still pumped in substantial quantities from the potash mines of Alsace into the Rhine cannot be extracted by filtration.

As a result it ends up in the tap water of areas served by water filtered on the river bank. Unlike other organic chlorine compounds, ortho-chloronitrobenzole is fairly easily soluble.

Besides, active carbon grows less effective as a filter with time. About a year ago Plittersdorf water works took to replacing filter units more often because of fears that toxic substances would make a breakthrough.

● The monitoring of Rhine water leaves much to be desired, says Hans-Georg Winter of the Rhine Water Works Association.

The early warning system is of only limited efficiency, given that pollution is only reported that can be seen with

Across-border river purification  
still a source of concern

Bavarian Premier Franz Josef Strauss has come in for criticism in connection with purification plans for a river.

Lower Saxony's Federal Affairs Minister, Wilfried Hasselmann, says Strauss has unnecessarily created a precedent by spontaneously agreeing to pay for purification of a stream that carries heavily polluted effluent from Sonneberg in the GDR over the border into Bavaria.

Herr Strauss, he says, has abandoned the principle of making the offender pay for the damage caused, a principle on which Lower Saxony must continue to insist.

Herr Hasselmann was prompted to make these comments in connection with plans to depollute the 'Weser' drawn up by the *Länder* Lower Saxony, Hesse, North Rhine-Westphalia and Bremen.

The Weser, which is formed at Hannoversch Münden by the confluence of the Wesra and the Fulda, carries a payload of 320kg of salt per second.

That is five times as much as the Elbe and the Rhine. It comes from potash factories in Thuringia, Hesse and Lower Saxony.

Thuringia in the GDR is the main offender, accounting for 270kg of the total. Hesse is to blame for 27kg and Lower Saxony for 20kg per second.

This industrial effluent is joined by ordinary industrial and domestic sewage, with Lower Saxony being responsible for about two-thirds of the total.

This hasn't always been the case. Potash has been mined on the Wesra for a century, and since Bremen for years took most of its tap water from the Weser a treaty was concluded between Prussia and Thuringia at the turn of the century.

When Germany was divided at the end of the Second World War the potash works on either side of the border reached agreement in 1947 and 1951 on effluent quotas.

The agreement held good until 1967. Then, in 1968, water boards in the West began to notice that the GDR was overstepping the mark.

It first overfulfilled its quota by 100 per cent. By 1972 the GDR was pumping four times as much salt into the river as it should have been.

At one stage the Wesra had twice the salt content of the North Sea. Salination changed both flora and fauna in the river.

The ground water bed of the Weser is salted up over a width of up to 400 metres. The water tapped from the river has had to be cut back substantially. Artificial irrigation of farmland with Weser water has been stopped entirely.

the naked eye. Higher toxin counts are disregarded.

Monitoring must definitely be improved. The Common Market guidelines provide for monthly checks of samples for 51 toxins at water works such as Plittersdorf.

But the EEC regulations have not yet been adopted as a national legal requirement, which they were supposed to have been over a transitional period of two years.

Chloronitrobenzole and nearly 5,000 other industrial chemicals would still not need to be checked regularly even though varying quantities of them are said to be found in Rhine water.

Such exhaustive checks would be out of the question even if companies responsible for pollution were fined heavily.

If the Rhine is to continue supplying good tap water measures must be taken at an earlier stage: the point of input.

## Ban needed

Higher charges for effluent containing organic compounds and an absolute ban on pumping poorly degradable toxins into the Rhine could work wonders.

There are occasions when water works officials come out with the unwelcome truth. Klaus Haberer of Wiesbaden water works once told a meeting of the Chemical Industry Association that:

"A special effort should be taken to ensure that effluent substances that cannot be eliminated either entirely or sufficiently by modern purification techniques are not pumped into the Rhine."

That was on 19 October 1982, three weeks after the chloronitrobenzole incident. The organisers reluctantly noted the point.

Egmont R. Koch and Uwe Lahl  
(Die Zeit, 12 August 1983)

In 1980 the *Länder* reached agreement with the GDR on an expert commission to deal with the Weser. In 14 rounds of talks proposals were drafted and included in a paper initialled by both sides a year ago.

They include three measures to help solve the problem:

● Flotation units are to be laid on at GDR potash works of the kind often used in modern ore and salt mining. They separate the various kinds of salt from each other.

Rock salt is stockpiled. Fertiliser salts are processed. Elimination of the rock salt ends about 65 per cent of the pollution.

● The next step would be to install an underground buffer storage facility as a subterranean reservoir for effluent in summer.

This effluent could be pumped into the Weser in winter and spring when the water flows more freely and in greater quantity.

● A small pipeline could be run to the North Sea to handle such effluent as remained.

The scheme has only been costed in general terms so far. Flotation units are expected to cost between DM150m and DM200m.

Further financial consideration is to be given to the proposals as soon as agreement seems imminent. When that is will depend on the GDR.

The GDR has the whip hand because all the water flows north into the Federal Republic.

Josef Schmidt  
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 August 1983)



## ARCHAEOLOGY

## Mesopotamian quest reveals a deep insight into origins of mathematics

New ideas about the origin of mathematics have emerged. How they have come to light is revealed here by Ernst Probst, writing in *Die Welt*. Probst was at a seminar on the subject at West Berlin's Free University organised by the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research and the University Centre of Roskilde, Denmark.

It was in Mesopotamia, the land between the rivers Euphrates and Tigris in what is now Iraq that the first numerical symbols were etched into clay tablets more than three millennia before Christ.

That was the time when the Sumerians formed the first thriving city-states around the mouths of the two rivers.

The cities' religious and economic life centred around such spectacular temples as that of Uruk, the oldest still preserved structure of its kind.

It was from here that the economic life was administered, irrigation organised and harvests distributed.

One of the most important aids to the administrative work was initially the so-called counting stones, small clay pebbles whose different shapes related to specific types of commodities like sheep, cattle, grain, etc.

This enabled the administrators to keep track of changes in herds of sheep or cattle or the stocks in the temple's grain silos. It also enabled them to keep a check on revenues and spending.

The handling of the stones required no knowledge of mathematics, not even the ability to add and subtract, because they simply reflected the movement of the things they represented.

When the Sumerian culture flowered, the counting stones had already been in use throughout the Mesopotamian region for some 5,000 years.

But it was not until the fourth millennium BC that the administrators first started putting impressions of the stones on to clay tablets. (The earliest of these tablets were found in Uruk and Elam in what is now Iran.)

These impressions were probably the first letter and figure symbols; and it took next to no time for the invention to spread.

Hans Nissen, professor of Asia Minor archaeology, explained at the seminar how the development of the script coincided with the city-states' need for more efficient administrative instruments.

But the first figure symbols found in Sumerian and Elamite clay tablets were not real figures as we understand them today.

Like the counting stones, they related to specific objects. Accordingly, there were various systems of figure symbols; and their structure was determined by the measuring units of the commodities to be counted.

For example, certain figures on the clay tablets stand next to the counting symbols for grain and area. They relate to each other by the quantity of grain to be harvested from a field of a particular size.

American Professor Marvin A. Powell was one of the pioneers of research into the measuring system used in the third millennium BC. Jöran Friberg, mathematics professor at Göte-

borg University in Sweden, went even further in his research work on the development of measuring systems, delving into the earliest protoliterary texts of the second half of the fourth millennium BC.

Since that script, a precursor of the later cuneiform script, has not yet been fully deciphered, Professor Friberg hopes to obtain some clues about the text by analysing the counting symbols.

Using a grain account relating to bread baking and brewing as an example, he demonstrated to the seminar how the identification of the measuring units used in a clay tablet can serve to decipher its text. He is also attempting to get to the roots of the sexagesimal place-value system.

Unlike our decimal system, which was invented more than 1,000 years later during the early Babylonian period and is based on the figure 10, the sexagesimal system is based on the figure 60.

One of the controversial questions at the Berlin meeting concerned the dating of the origins of today's place-value system.

Professor Powell was able to prove that the sexagesimal system occurred in a text dating from the third Ur dynasty, which preceded the early Babylonian period. This makes it likely that the place-value system is even older than had hitherto been assumed.

The research work of Friberg and Powell has now been augmented by a computer analysis of the more than 2,000 clay tablets that were unearthed by a German archaeological expedition in the 1930s.

The Max Planck Institute for Educational Research presented the seminar with a model depicting the development of mathematical thinking in Mesopotamia.

The model is meant to show how the various object-related figure symbols eventually developed into an abstract concept of figures.

The figure symbols found in the earliest texts were initially no more than an aid to adding and subtracting, used pretty much like the counting stones.

Among the most discussed problems at the seminar was the gradual development of multiplication and division, a development that could have spanned

more than 1,000 years. But the seminar closed without a clear answer to this question.

A large number of strictly mathematical texts of the early Babylonian period (from 2,000 BC) have been found.

The scribes of the era, Babylonians' intellectuals, dealt with problems far removed from everyday application.

Jens Hoyrup of the University Centre of Roskilde suggested that the scribes wanted to enhance their guild position by displaying virtuosity. They were able to deal with problems that would equal today's quadratic equation.

How they arrived at the solution of such problems remains one of the great mysteries of Babylonian mathematics. But Hoyrup demonstrated in Berlin that the mysterious Babylonian acrobatics with figures become understandable when relating them to geometry.

It was by no means a handful of Greek philosophers to whom we owe the discovery of mathematics as a science.

The Greeks were preceded by a development extending over thousands of years. But the Babylonians almost never

formulated the methods and used in figuring. Instead, it was demonstrated with examples.

Yet there can be no doubt that the Babylonians' extensive knowledge was the result of study rather than chance.

The wrong impression that ancient mathematicians were in evolving certain rules that substantiated by the Greek lack of knowledge.

Professor Wolfgang Iffert, Institute of philosophy (who, like Peter Damerow of the Max Planck Institute for Educational Research, attended the colloquium at the University) suggested that the played a major role here, especially regard to the definition of terms.

It was this that enabled the evolution of a scientific approach to Babylonian mathematics, in terms of subjects and materials: land, close to our own ideas. Yet the terms, Babylonian mathematics, very much richer than the Greek.

There is, however, a danger of projecting too much modern mathematics into the old text and thus losing uniqueness.

Only a comprehensive reconstruction of the Babylonians' mathematics can do justice to the experience of the beauty of mathematics and shed light on the our own thought processes.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 August 1983)

## Curious coin custom is among old burial ground secrets

Early antiquity's custom of putting a coin under the tongue of the dead appears to have been in use in southern Hesse during the early Middle Ages (about 600 AD).

This is suggested by the gold coin found in the lower jaw of an old man's skeleton unearthed in the Offenbach-Bieber burial grounds.

The coin was intended as payment for the underworld ferryman Charon for taking the souls of the dead across the River Styx.

It was also customary at that time to provide the dead with food for the journey. This is indicated by the fact that a warrior's grave contained not only the man's skeleton but also the hind leg of a goat.

Archaeologists discount the possibility that the goat's leg got into the grave accidentally because of the way it was positioned next to the human skeleton.

Unfortunately, the archaeological team of the Offenbach-Waldhof Prehistory and Early History Museum to determine the height of men and a few skeletons.

But the finds suggest that the Offenbach women of the early Middle Ages ranged from 1.55 to 1.80 metres tall, while men stood about 1.70 to 1.85 metres tall.

In an article published in the *Natur und Museum*, Offenbach anthropologist Peter H. Blumhagen, contrary to widespread assumptions, the people of that era were smaller than those of today.

He bases his view on skeletons found in other burial grounds of the period in southern Hesse.

The height of the men found in the Offenbach-Bieber burial grounds (Starkenburg, Werra, Zellerfeld, Rheingau and Main) was between 1.69 and 1.73 metres. The tallest male skeleton of that period found in Kelheim on the Danube measured 1.96 metres.

Like most people in the early Middle Ages who were about 40 or older, buried in Offenbach-Bieber, the man suffered from differing degrees of arthritis of the joints and the lumbar spine.

The most commonly affected were the hip and shoulder joints, the lower part of the spine.

The arthritis is attributed to hard labour from early childhood. It seems that the Offenbach-Bieber men of that era had to struggle for a living.

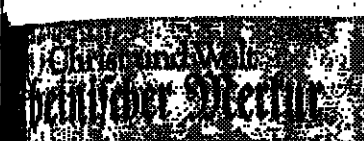
The ground-down teeth of the Offenbach-Bieber men point to a predominantly agricultural diet, which is usually harder on teeth than meat.

To make matters worse, some of the mineral impurities entered the food through the milling process.

(Die Welt, 10 August 1983)

## THE ARTS

## Higashiyama, master of the Japanese landscape



Düsseldorf's Kunsthalle recently opened two exhibitions on one floor: the vernissage for the old Japanese landscape painting, Higashiyama, then the less formal exhibition of New York Now.

New York Now features 25 young artists from Manhattan with a wide range of subjects and materials: land, close to our own ideas. Yet the terms, Babylonian mathematics, very much richer than the Greek.

There is, however, a danger of projecting too much modern mathematics into the old text and thus losing uniqueness.

Only a comprehensive reconstruction of the Babylonians' mathematics can do justice to the experience of the beauty of mathematics and shed light on the our own thought processes.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 August 1983)

His progress toward the status of official painter of consolation from nature in 1947 when the Japanese government bought an Evening Sunshine painting at the annual Nitten exhibition of paintings.

It was one of the first fruits of the deep astonishment that Higashiyama felt at the end of the war.

He honours he has since received in the Grand Cross of the Federal Merit, awarded in 1976. This award testified to longstanding achievement.

Higashiyama, born in 1908 in Yokohama, where his father was a dealer in exchange equipment, was the first Japanese student in Berlin in 1933.

His first name, Kail, later adopted, was back home. In Berlin he read history, then toured Europe.

In 1937 he helped to organise an exhibition in Tokyo, entitled 'Mastery of Japanese Art'.

He has repeatedly visited Germany since the war. At the opening of his exhibition in Düsseldorf he made a speech in German thanking people for what he had learnt and experienced.

His range of colours is limited, with a growing preference for blue. The Japanese landscape itself makes do with a limited number of basic colours: ash-coloured volcanoes, grey mountains,

He mostly paints Japanese landscapes: the universally revered Fuji, maple leaves, the fine colour and shadow of which traditionally refer to nature in its entirety, and the mist between tree tops and peaks that is typical of Japan's insular climate.

But his experience of the forest is likely to have been European in origin. A number of his woodland scenes have a Scandinavian look about them; Japanese woods are mostly matted scrub.

Reflecting water is a major feature of many of his compositions. The reflection is at least equal in importance to reality.

This is the result of a sense of beauty that creates reality in parks for the sake of reflection.

Yet despite dealing with objects, Higashiyama's landscapes are not naturalistic.

Tree tops and trunks are superimposed in long shots, while details seen in close-up attain dramatic proportions.

A green streak of lightning on a whitish-grey background is entitled Valley, a bright band behind trees is entitled Echo.

Colours are heightened. A snow-white tree, arguably weighed down by cherry blossom, is shown against a background of dark pine tree tops. Junipers and autumn leaves divide a painting into grey-green and orange.

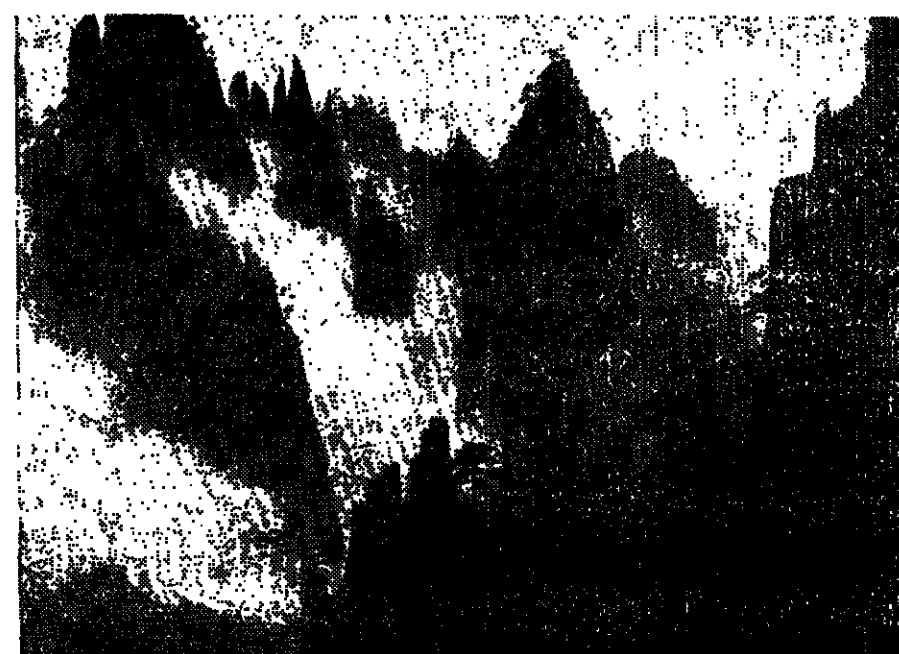
His colours are unusual; so are his paintings. Higashiyama paints with powdered minerals and metals, with vegetable dyestuffs, with ceramic powder and glass dust.

The result is subdued colours and gently shining surfaces (many paintings on show in Düsseldorf are unfortunately behind glass).

The glow of fog, the shadow of the Moon and a vague velvet are favourite effects. The more coarse-grained the material, the darker the colour appears to be.

Dyestuffs are kneaded in glue and then dissolved in water. Higashiyama seldom paints on silk. Paper prepared with glue and alum is his usual medium.

His range of colours is limited, with a growing preference for blue. The Japanese landscape itself makes do with a limited number of basic colours: ash-coloured volcanoes, grey mountains,



Higashiyama's 'Huangshan Mountains after the Rain', 1978.

(Photo: Catalogue)

green trees, yellow beaches. Flowers are strange visitors.

His paintings, mostly large canvases, convey an impression of peace and quiet. Their ambivalence between melancholy and cheerfulness is part of the Japanese character.

They are landscapes devoid of people, with the occasional horse appearing. As the Japanese see nature, mankind does not face it; he identifies with it, forms part of it.

Two people are always invisibly present in the painting, Higashiyama says. They are the artist and the person looking at the picture, the recipient of its message.

In the final analysis it is a religious message, since God is in nature according to Shinto beliefs.

So Higashiyama's paintings may fairly be described as religious landscapes, although not in the same way as those of Caspar David Friedrich.

In Friedrich's work man faces creation as in The Wanderer over the Sea of Clouds or The Monk by the Sea, a painting so monotonous, as Kleist saw it, that it has only the frame in the foreground.

When you looked at it the impression gained was "as though your eyelids had been cut off." The view does not stop at the edges of the picture; it is a detail from the infinite.

This is true of Higashiyama too. His paintings are details that seem boundless; but they don't express loneliness or a sense of abandonment. They preach oneness with nature.

It would seem logical that he has

often been commissioned to do paintings for temples. There, his landscapes assume the character of votive tablets.

Sketches from 10 years' work at a temple in Nara, work that is considered to be his magnum opus, are on show in Düsseldorf.

Higashiyama has also gained a reputation of being the national painter, an artist whose paintings are given to visiting dignitaries.

When Japan and China resumed diplomatic ties in 1972 Chairman Mao was sent one of his paintings, entitled Dawn of Spring, as a gift.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Japan in 1973 the Tenno and his wife gave her a Spring Dawn by Higashiyama.

When the Japanese Emperor and his wife visited the United States in 1975 they gave the US President a Higashiyama painting entitled Summer Mountains with White Clouds.

There have been Higashiyama exhibitions in Paris in 1975, Peking in 1978, East Berlin and Leipzig in 1979. One cannot imagine his paintings upsetting anyone anywhere.

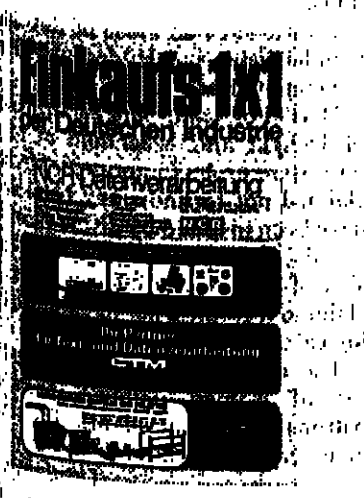
He is a great traditionalist who relates himself. His art, he says, is only one form among many currents. He is relativised in Düsseldorf too, being exhibited alongside work by five younger painters from Japan.

They paint in oil and acrylic paint, much like the artists featured in New York Now.

Hans Dalber

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ und Welt, 29 July 1983)

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## Amateur writers look to the day when their hobby becomes their livelihood

Why learn how to write at night school? This is what one student at the writers' workshop evening classes in Münster, Westphalia, has to say: "Writing means holding on to something/My feelings, my experiences/Making my imagination tangible/For me, and maybe for others too."

That is one man's blank verse explanation why he tries his hand at writing after work rather than just dozing in front of the TV set.

He is far from on his own with his hobby, especially in a working world and a living environment that are growing increasingly technological and improved and perfected.

The fewer areas there are left in which the individual can still do his own thing, the more people try to offset this anonymity by writing, by coming to terms with their lives on paper.

Klaus-Dieter Brunotte, an executive committee member of the German Writers' Association and himself an amateur writer, estimates that one person in five has seriously tried writing poems, prose or plays for any length of time.

One in two, or maybe three, has taken a closer look at literature and penned work of his own: experiments that mostly go no further than the writer's own four walls.

These are more estimates. Part-time writing is certainly extensive. Even more certainly, not too much is known for sure about people who write as a sideline.

The amateurs include people who write strictly for pleasure, either for themselves or for friends at most.

Then there are writers who write for a limited public, occasionally reading their work in public or publishing it in small literary magazines.

Last but not least, there are those who aim to become full-time writers and only keep up their everyday jobs to make ends meet.

They all belong to the category of amateur writers. It is a large group, which is hardly surprising inasmuch as only five per cent of German writers make a living from what they write.

But that doesn't discourage many amateurs from dreaming of one day becoming a full-time writer.

Verena Stefan, the women's writer, used to work as a physiotherapist. The playwright Franz Xaver Kroetz used to work as a driver and male nurse and even did a stint as a banana cutter.

Max von der Grün bases his writing about the working world on his personal experience as a bricklayer, construction worker, coalminer and train-driver.

So many "semi-professional" writers refuse to abandon hope. Unlike the pure amateurs who are not immediately interested in earning a living from what they write, they are keen to find market outlets.

Some may find satisfaction in writing at home as a means of creatively coming to terms with themselves. Others eagerly collect publishers' addresses, hold readings of their work and regularly correspond with literary magazines.

The more hesitant yet no less ambitious would-be writers initially try their hands at establishing a reputation in a kind of semi-public.

They meet others for whom writing is just a hobby in private literary circles,

at universities and at the writers' workshops run by night schools all over Germany.

Both groups fall under the broad heading of amateurs, but they are not altogether satisfactory bedfellows.

Marianne Riefert-Miethe, who runs the writers' workshop at Cologne's City-Treff and the Melancthon Protestant Church Academy, outlines one reason why: "When some members of a group lay claim to superiority it tends to inhibit the others."

It took the Meiderich arts workshop in Duisburg a year to establish a steady membership.

The group began with a phase of pointless discussion and often unqualified criticism, triggering a counter-reaction.

Work by other people was then discussed in the most cordial fashion, but when it came to members' own work they were extremely diffident and preferred to say nothing.

Gerd Brosch, the director of evening classes in Cologne, has come to realise that his writers' workshop too is a mixed bag of the most varied characters and expectations.

It was some time before students grew less shy and reserved toward each other. Yet their expectations remained too varied for the course to agree on any one curriculum.

That in itself is hardly surprising. Un-

like private literary circles, writers' workshops run at local authority evening classes are attended by a wide range of people.

They range from writing housewives to people who used to write for a living and are keen to get back into the habit after a lengthy break.

The more ambitious students are determined to write quality work in the long term, and quality is unquestionably a problem.

Editors of literary magazines can tell a tale of variations in quality. One is Kurt Morawietz, editor of the annual *Die Horen*, which was awarded the Alfred Kerr Prize for 1980.

He reckons there are between 300 and 350 literary magazines on the German market, including about 200 alternative mags that print work by amateurs.

But amateurs are seldom printed in the columns of his magazine. He uses a mere five per cent of the 400 manuscripts he is sent per month.

The remainder, he complains, are shoddy work, although most writers unfortunately fail to appreciate the point when it is made in connection with their own work.

"For lack of self-criticism," Morawietz says, "everyone feels he is a born writer."

Those who fail to get into print are, he says, either "stupid" (because they don't know how to go about it) or

"lousy" (because they are good as writers).

Nearly all literary magazines are incapable of assessing the quality of their own work. The hopeful amateurs is often a

Many are unable to distinguish between factual and personal says Karl-Helmut Kant, *Kölnischer Heft*.

Literary circles are particularly prone to dismissing objections raised by others. They prefer to boost their egos.

This lack of self-criticism is a weening desire for recognition. Smart publishers with an eye for an eye are not to be taken in.

Everyone nowadays can claim to have had a book of poems published. People who have shed may well have had to pay for the privilege.

A number of publishers publish the collected poems of would-be writers — in return for DM1,750 in cash for a 70-page book.

The writer is then given 100 elementary copies and, depending on the contract, between 10 and 20 per cent of the retail price in advance.

A writer who arranges to publish his work in a magazine may have to pay up to 100 marks for the privilege.

Even those who doubt whether they are yet capable of writing for publication have been waiting for a long time for a publisher's breath need not despair.

A Hamburg firm runs a correspondence course that is guaranteed to get you published. The basic course costs nearly DM1,000.

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 13 August 1983)

## MODERN LIVING

### From theology student to aviatrix

How does a woman student of theology set about becoming a world speed records for the North Atlantic run on no fewer than five occasions.

She delivers to customers, corporate or individual, virtually anything in the line of single- or twin-engined private planes.

They include brand names such as Cessna, Piper, Beach and Moony. They range from small planes costing a few hundred thousand marks to 20-seater turboprop aircraft that cost four million dollars.

With one exception she has delivered every one to its new owner without so much as a scratch.

The exception was an emergency landing in Canada. The plane was iced up and as heavy as lead. "At least I escaped without a scratch," she recalls.

On one occasion her engine seized up in mid-Atlantic. Airline pilots advised her by radio just to keep on flying. It was all very well for them with four engines, she says; her plane only had one.

The plane headed toward the ocean from an altitude of 17,000ft. "Ninety seconds later I would have had to put on my life jacket," she says. "Then, at 7,000ft, I managed to coax the engine back into life."

As a veteran of flying between America, Europe, Africa and Australia she frequently runs into difficulties.

Her oxygen supply once broke down. She felt sick and was just able to make an emergency landing in Canada.

Her husband Manfred is a teacher in Cologne. She has arranged with him to do only two flights a month instead of four. So she now spends more time at home.

Her transatlantic records made headline news in the States. On her first record-breaking flight she piloted a Cessna 210 Turbo from Labrador to Düsseldorf in thirteen and a half hours.

Her fifth record-breaking flight was at the controls of a four-seater Moony 231: from Gander, Newfoundland, to Zurich in 12 hours 33 minutes.

Jets are faster, obviously. "Taking a licence to pilot a jet would be no problem," Frau Orlowski says. "But there isn't a market for ferrying jets around the world."

"Anyone who can afford a private jet aircraft also has his own pilot."

She shares with her father her interest in flying. He was an airman in the Army. He took her often on excursions and for walks as a girl, always to some airfield or other.

She is keen to keep on flying until she is 70. She took her private pilot's licence at Hangar, near Bonn, at 17, and her licence to fly seaplanes in the United States at 19.

She then qualified as a private aviation instructor in Bavaria and returned to America for instruction in flying from controls in bad weather.

At 21 she passed her exams as a professional pilot. She was fully qualified. Up in the sky she feels freer than on the ground. "I can stop over wherever I want," she says. "I once picked up a fur coat in Greenland during a stopover."

Twice she has flown single-handed from San Francisco to Sydney via Hawaii, Christmas Island and Samoa. It took her a week, including 50 hours aloft.

Crossing the Atlantic takes 12 to 14 hours. All she has to eat is a little fruit and a couple of sips of Coke. Never again will she be drinking a couple of cups of coffee before taking off from Canada as she once did.

Near the end of her journey to Cologne she was dying to go to the toilet. She considered a touch-down in Ireland but decided it was ridiculous to pay a landing fee of DM70.

At Cologne airport, she told herself, it costs nothing. She gritted her teeth. But the moment she landed she shot out of the cockpit and ran past surprised customs officers straight towards the door marked Ladies.

Hans Willenweber  
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 13 August 1983)

She has flown across the Atlantic on her own 64 times, setting up world speed records for the North Atlantic run on no fewer than five occasions.

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Hans Willenweber  
(Hamburger Abendblatt, 13 August 1983)



Margrit Orlowski... a long wait

(Photo: dpa)

### Blue blood still runs through prominent veins

Most Germans would say that in the 20th century the nobility was a topic for the yellow press — if that.

Few realise that to this day many members of the nobility that forfeited political power in 1918 still hold substantial economic power.

The son and heir of 56-year-old Prince Johannes von Thurn und Taxis, who was recently christened Albert Maria Lamoral Miguel Johannes Gabriel, will one day inherit a fortune.

The family, once minor Italian noblemen, are now a multinational corporation reputed to be worth roughly DM1bn.

The Thurn und Taxis family once held a postal monopoly from the North Sea to Spain. They now own land in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg, Canada, the United States and Brazil and are the largest private landowners in Europe.

The family have their own bank, breweries, several groups of companies in chemicals and electronics. They employ a payroll of about 5,000.

Much the same tale can be told of many other blue-blooded German families. In southern Germany alone 25 titled families each own over 40 million square metres (10,000 acres) of land.

Eight families own over 100 million square metres (25,000 acres) each. About 1,000 members of the nobility are banking and insurance executives.

The country's largest private bank are owned by noblemen.

They are Sal. Oppenheim, with a balance sheet totalling over DM10bn; and Merck, Finck & Co. They are part-owned by the sons of the richest man in Germany.

He is August von Finck, a Bavarian baron reputedly worth \$4bn.

Members of the nobility are board members of leading German companies, such as oil and chemicals conglomerate Vebe and electrical engineering multi Siemens.

A nobleman is head of the National Farmers' Union. Another is head of the Confederation of Federal Republic Industries.

Otto Wolff von Amerongen, a steel company-owner, heads of Standing Conference of Federal Republic Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

The Automobilclub von Deutschland  
Continued on page 15

## SOCIETY

### A look at what women did in the old days

Important part women played in the mediaeval art world.

The illustrations, unfortunately only photographic reproductions, naturally show women carrying out conventional domestic chores.

Meister Bertrams's Holy Mary in the Buxtehude altar painting is putting the finishing touches to a knitted shirt. She looks as though the halo is getting in her way as she counts the number of stitches.

Other women can be seen weaving or making themselves useful looking after a woman in labour.

The only widely-known exception to the dreary rule is Christine de Pisan, 1364-1430, who was as conversant with the Latin classics as she was with the main literary and philosophical works of her own era.

She writes treatises on history, education and politics. As the first feminist she discussed the situation of women in her time and complained of the slander women had to put up with, especially from educated men.

Yet men as a rule could not lay claim to being educated. Apart from the clergy, as mediaeval historian Herbert Grundmann has pointed out, only women could read.

This was a fact so widely acknow-

ledged that books were felt to be for women, as the Sachsenhausen oldest and most influential library the German Middle Ages, when

Books could only be inherited by women because, as a later complaint, only women could read.

This applied to life in general, even more marked in the monasteries.

Convents were long dismissed as a refuge for hysterical nuns and failed to find a mate. The only shows them to have been a

Women were trained in calligraphy, book illustrations, poetry, music and textile arts. They were relieved of the tedious necessity of looking after

Nuns were spared the suffering of childbirth and the trials of abortion. Many Benedictine and Dominican convents are shown to have produced important works of art done by nuns.

Names such as those of Rosine Gandersheim and Hildegard of Bingen are merely the tip of an iceberg.

Horrad of Landsberg and her book of Delight and Mechtild of Magdeburg were no less important. They claimed not to know any Latin but have been inspired by divine wisdom.

This claim must be taken with a grain of salt. Her level of education and claim to legitimise her intellectual and literary activities.

The exhibition catalogue lists a list of women painters, poets and patrons of mediaeval art. They many crowned heads among them.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 1 August 1983)

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